DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 107 938 CE 004 064

AUTHOR Bhola, H. S.
TITLE Some Introductory Lessons on "Organizational Literacy" for Functional Literacy Workers.
PUB DATE Apr 75
NOTE 46p.; Paper prepared for the International Seminar on the Design of Educational Programs for the Social and Economic Promotion of Rural Women (Teheran, Iran, April 19-24, 1975)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Educators; Functional Illiteracy; Institutional Role; Institutions; *Literacy Education; Organization; Organizational Climate; *Organizational Development; *Organizational Effectiveness; Organizations (Groups); *Planning

ABSTRACT

The organization and mobilization for literacy work consist of two overlapping parts: organizational design and institution building. Organizational design, which covers both the technical and the social system, can be seen to include the following processes: analysis of the institution; invention of roles; invention of rules relating the roles into a purposeful collectivity; and creation of resources. With respect to these processes literacy organizers should: understand the relationship between policy and organization: design fresh roles which illustrate role interdependence; create rules which are flexible and which minimize organizational hierarchies and maximize organizational intelligence and role cooperation; and develop a sharpened awareness of the human aspects of resources and their management. Institution building is relevant since, unlike organizations, organizing campaigns cannot provide the sustained enthusiasm necessary in literacy work. Institution building consists of: enabling the organization to adjust with and gain support from existing institutions; developing linkages, both formal and informal, with persons in those institutions; coping with the environment according to whether it is supportive, inhibitive, or neutral; and obtaining and utilizing resources. By being aware of these factors and of the possibilities that each promises, the literacy worker can increase the probability of institutional success. (JR)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

APR 07 1975

ED107938

Prepared for the International Seminar
on

The Design of Educational Programs for
the Social and Economic Promotion of Rural Women

(April 19-24, 1975, Teheran, Iran)

SOME INTRODUCTORY LESSONS ON 'ORGANIZATIONAL LITERACY'

FOR FUNCTIONAL LITERACY WORKERS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

By

H.S. Bhola
Associate Professor, Indiana University

CE004064

SOME INTRODUCTORY LESSONS ON 'ORGANIZATIONAL LITERACY' FOR FUNCTIONAL LITERACY WORKERS[1]

By

H.S. Bhola

The Women's Organization of Iran (WOI) has the mandate to work for the social and economic promotion of rural women of Iran. This mandate the WOI has translated into the program mould of functional literacy. The choice of both the means and the ends is supportable. It is time to let the other half of humankind to join the march into the future; and to assist these women, both rural and urban, with the skills needed to function within the new partnership. Functional literacy, broadly conceived, can indeed be the means of actualization of our hopes for the International Women's Year.

Much would need to be done to translate hopes into concrete actions. One of the things to do would be, of course, to organize for social action in behalf of women.

---

[1]This paper has been written at a descriptive level. Its theoretical antecedents will be found in three papers by the author listed below: (i) H.S. Bhola, "The Configurational Theory of Innovation Diffusion," Indian Educational Review, Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1967, Pages 42-72. Available from ERIC Document Reproduction Service, P.O. Drawer O, Bethesda, Maryland 20014, under order no. ED 011 147; (ii) H.S. Bhola, "Notes Toward a Theory: Cultural Action as Elite Initiatives in Affiliation/Exclusion," Viewpoints (Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University), Vol. 48, No. 3, May 1972, Pages 1-37; and (iii) H.S. Bhola, "The Design of (Educational) Policy: Directing and Harnessing Social Power for Social Outcomes," a paper presented to the Indiana University

Whatever needs to be done systematically, and with continuity, needs a system--an organization of some kind. To bring the farmer the new technology of food production; to bring to the rural women new social visions and new economic possibilities, and to provide them with the knowledge and support needed to actualize these possibilities, systems of action will have to be created. Clearly, most significant planned change today has to be organizationally-mediated.

One can argue that even though planned change is organizationally-mediated, we need not pretend as if organizations were novel to human experience. All cultures have had experience with organizations--some for centuries, some for thousands of years. As individuals some of us have been governing organizations and most of us have been working within them. Why then, some introductory lessons in organizational literacy? The answer is that the fish are not necessarily the best experts on water; that while we do indeed know organizations experientially and intuitively, we do not know them systematically to use them effectively for social ends. In fact, most of us make less than an optimal use of organizations; we let them become barriers to, rather than, vehicles for social change; we let

---

Educational Policy Conference held in Bloomington, Indiana, during November 21-23, 1974. A report of the proceedings of the Conference, to include eight papers, will be available as a special issue of Viewpoints to be published in May 1975. Copies of the various issues of Viewpoints may be ordered from the Publications Office, Room 109, School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. A limited number of copies of the three papers listed here are available from the author on request.

organizations tyrannize over us while we fight the symptoms rather than the real causes of our discontent.

The problems of organization and mobilization for literacy work can be separated in two parts. The first part is that of organizational design. The organization must be designed and then built with the expectation that it will perform the activities assigned to it. The second part is what is often referred to as institution building. Institution building is basically a description for the process involving the launching of an organization into social space, pretty much as a satellite is first fabricated and then launched into physical space. Whether we are engaged in organizational design or in institution building, we are dealing with systems and system design. Organizational design is system design because an organization is a formal social system. Again, institution building is system design because a system (an organization) is being launched into a larger system (the society). The design problem now consists in helping the newly launched organization to come to terms with existing institutions and organizational networks (systems of various sizes and overlapping boundaries) and to relate with client groups and communities(a multiplicity of informal social systems).

In organizing our discussion of organizational design and institution building we would use the same one

conceptualization, "The Configurational Theory of Innovation Diffusion."[1] It suggests that to describe, analyse, understand, or to intervene within systems, systems may be ordered in terms of four variables: configurations and configurational relationships constituting the system, linkages within and between configurations within the system, environment surrounding the system, and resources being processed through the system under study. These four terms can be translated to fit the processes of organizational design and institution building as follows:

Configurational Theory Variables	Restatement of variables in terms of Organizational Design Processes	Restatement of variables in terms of Institution Building Processes
Configurations	Roles, Units, Sections, Divisions, Task Forces, Teams	Organizations, Associations, Communities
Linkages	Rules, Codes, Informal communications	Coordination, Animation, Mobilization
Environment	Organizational climate	Social climate
Resources	Resource management	Resource mobilization

Two important points should be made here.

[1] H.S. Bhola, "The Configurational Theory of Innovation Diffusion," Indian Educational Review, Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1967, pages 42-73. [ERIC No. ED 011 147.]

While these two processes of organizational design and institution building must be treated separately for simplication, in actual practice considerations about institution building (about a future organizational launch into social space) must determine, at least, some aspects of the initial design of the organization.

Second, when an organization is off the drawing board and is actually brought into being, it becomes a "living system." An informal organization grows within and upon the formal organization. This informal organization can never be completely anticipated and, consequently, can never be fully planned for. However, some typical aspects of living systems, that is, of the social architecture of organizations, have become known through research and these can be taken into consideration as part of the organizational design.

One must, thus, think in terms of accommodating two overlapping systems within organizational design:

(1) The technical system, and

(2) The social system.

Organizational Design

Organization is needed when something needs to be done systematically and with continuity; and when the task to be performed is beyond the capacity of a mere individual. Organization is cooperation, a way of multiplying individual capacities to generate collective power. Cooperation leads

to division of work which leads to specialized roles. This, in turn, creates the need for coordination of the work of specialists. In terms of our model, an organization may be seen as a set of roles, with rules for relating those roles in a functioning community, using resources, to fulfill its obligations to the social environment which gave it birth.

The organizational design problem them can be seen to include the following processes:

1. A valid institutional analysis should be primary. That would mean a confidence in the goodness of the institutional solution. Organizational designers must be convinced that the initiatives for development and change do require institutional solutions, and that the particular organization they are designing is part of the solution. For example, literacy cannot bring development in areas where needs are for agricultural extension and rural credit. Nor can literacy bring social cohesion to a community torn from racial or communal strife. The developmental problem must be amenable to institutional solutions, and literacy institutions must be part of these solutions for literacy organizations to have any meaningful goals.

2. Roles must be invented that can undertake the activities that policy goals of the institution require.

3. Rules must be invented that relate these roles into a purposeful collectivity, a power field that can do societal work.

4. Resources need to be created, and assured on a continuous basis, to be deployed both (a) to feed and house the role incumbents within the organization, and (b) to provide services to client groups in fulfillment of the obligations to the society.

These tasks are by no means simple. In the following we would deal with problems of role design, rule making, resource management and definition of organizational purposes. Both the logical and sociological aspects of these problems will be dealt with. We begin with a discussion of organizational goals and purposes.

The Dynamics of Organizational Goals and Purposes

Obligation to the environment is part of our definition of an organization. It is indeed absurd to think of a purposeless organization; but the relationship between ends and means within organizations is not always clear and direct. Organizations have manifest goals but they also have latent goals. Over time, initial organizational goals may get displaced. Goal displacement is the process by which organizations (as well as individuals and groups) lose sight of their original goals and have them displaced by goals that are different, and even antithetical to their original purposes.

The Logic of Institutional Prescriptions

As we have indicated elsewhere organizations are created to make policy implementation possible. But human beings cannot always make the right social diagnoses nor can always make the right social prescriptions. Creating institutions may not in some cases be part of the solution, and sometimes the wrong institution may be created.

It can also happen that instituions are created not to fulfill specific policy directions but to carry forward general policy themes, such as, preparing the weaker sections in the society to participate in socioeconomic life of the country; to develop communities for life in a classless and just society. Not only does it become difficult for an organizer, in such cases, to logically translate policy into plans and programs of action, but such generalized themes overlap with the mandates given to other institutions in the society. This creates conflicts with existing institutions that claim the same jurisdiction. The need to coordinate and integrate work between different institutions thus becomes of utmost importance. The functional literacy programs would face special problems in this regard because of its very comprehensive socioeconomic and educational goals.

Sociological Confounding of Organizational Goals

Problems with regard to defining and understanding organizational purposes are not all logical; they also get sociologically confounded.

Organizations may merely serve symbolic uses and may be completely unable to fulfill the ostensible purposes assigned to them. Creation of a National Board of Literacy or a Committee on Total Eradication of Illiteracy may serve such symbolic functions.

Organizations may have latent functions different from those manifestly stated. A church project may be interested in literacy because it provides a setting and stage for continuous contact for evangelism and proselytization in a developing area. A group of people may develop a literacy program not because of their interest in literacy but as a way of building a political base for themselves in the region. A literacy program may also be created by a government simply to give a false sense of movement--not to provide development but to practice what has been characterized as gradualism. Gradualism is a word used to denote political strategies whereby, instead of meeting the social and political aspirations of the people honestly and forthrightly, they are put on a slow calendar of gradual progress. Instead of passing egalitarian economic legislation to benefit an underprivileged community, they may be given more seats in

elementary and secondary schools. Such gradualism is not uncommon.

Finally, organizations over time may go through goal displacement without realizing the drift in their purposes. An organization, set up to promote traditional media nationally, may become a local production center putting up folklore shows every evening. A national institute of audio visual education for a country may become an agency that produces graphic materials for the ministries of the federal government. A literacy institution set up to serve the local people may lose all touch with the communities, and may become a lobby for greater adult education budgets at state and federal levels. Or it may become a publisher and bookseller of books for new literates.

What Can a Literacy Organizer Do?

Literacy organizers cannot play God. They cannot control everything. They cannot insist on clarities of goals and specificity of policy directions by presidents and ministers of state, and on certainties of actions and consequences in an uncertain world.

Yet understanding is a prerequisite for doing the possible. By understanding the relationship between policy and organization, and by understanding the dynamics of systems of action, one can do somethings whatever the level of one's responsibility within a literacy organization. One can raise questions; one can often force others to raise the same questions; one can raise doubts; one can

question individual purposes, both his own and of others; and one can see if one should stay and help or leave for the good of himself and the organization. And if one stays, one can work on programs with a sense of commitment. Commitment to the organization's programs then can be spread all across the organization. This would mean that all those working within the organization will understand the obligations due to the society that supports the organization. That is important.

Inventing Roles for Organizations

While some role theorists would draw subtle distinctions between positions and roles, for our purposes these two words could be used interchangeably.

Some roles were invented in our cultures and societies so long ago that they have become conventional roles. Everybody knows what the incumbents of those roles do, and how they behave. There has grown around these roles, sets of mutual expectations that are almost universal. Policeman, postman, teacher, soldier are some such roles. They come ready-made.

However, different organizations and different cultures have to create adaptations of the stereotypical roles we just mentioned. Functional literacy workers especially have to invent roles afresh since they are often dealing with different sociocultural realities and different pools of personnel resources. The conceptual background of their actions differ also from one project to another.

The Logical in the Process of Role Invention

A role invention job typically must start with objectives to be fulfilled by a program or a project. It must then be determined as to what tasks or activities must be performed to fulfill those objectives. Next it must be ascertained as to what tasks seem to go together and could be performed as part of single roles by one or more role incumbents. (See the Schema below.)

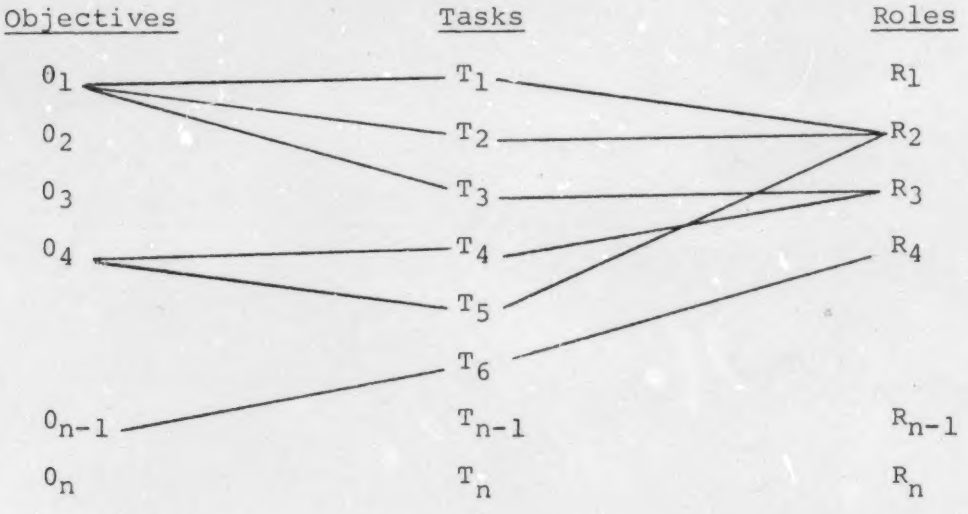

Figure 1. The process of role invention in idealized form.

The process is rational but difficult and often full of problems. For example:

1. It is not so easy to state program objectives clearly. Organizations often fulfill laten objectives that they do not want to make manifest. They want such objectives to remain hidden.

1.1 At other times all the organizational objectives are not anticipated; it is impossible to know the future. By definition future is unknown.

1.2 Again, objectives may be added to the organization's agenda for political reasons requiring crude adjustments in role definitions.

1.3 Even where objectives have been tentatively agreed upon, different administrators may assign them different values, or may underplay some objectives when translating them into activities and roles.

2. Translation of objectives into activities and tasks, again, is not as easy as it might seem. This is indeed a theoretical, rather than a rational, process. Different theories may provide different answers as to what activities and tasks should be performed to bring self-reliance among communities. What tasks should be performed to bring about group cohesiveness, communal harmony, community motivation and action? Even at a less abstract level, what tasks should be performed to make a community literate? To bring women to participate in the life of the community? To ensure that those who become literate actually use literacy in their daily lives to make it possible that literacy generates development?

3. Coelescing tasks or activities into roles is not easy or self-evident either.

Experience imaginatively treated will tell us what tasks might go together and what might not. For example, teaching of reading and writing and arithmetic may go together but not, necessarily, teaching literacy and agriculture. Driver and projectionist roles may be combined but not the driver and the cook. (In a Paris hotel, though, I saw the driver, travel guide, cook and bearer roles combined in one man!) Again, the pool of manpower from which the role incumbents will be recruited may create constraints or freedoms in role invention. In one particular society it may be possible to combine the teacher, the group discussion leader, and the projectionist roles in one. In another, it may be impossible to combine the driver and the projectionist. In one, the teacher may also teach agriculture; in another the agricultural extension worker may teach literacy; in yet another a team teaching approach may be feasible. In some societies it may be possible to put well-qualified literacy teachers in each adult group; in another the monitor concept may have to be invented. This would make it necessary to package most of the instruction through processes of instructional development so that the monitor roles can be usefully performed.

The Sociological Aspects of Role Invention and Design

Once roles have been invented, role performers must be found. This presents a set of problems of a very complex nature.

1. In recruitment of role incumbents: (a) we may misjudge people and get the wrong kind of workers; (b) we may deliberately recruit people we know and recruitment may become a patronage system, especially so in economies of scarcities; and (c) workers may be foisted on us because they have the right connections in the right places.

2. Once role incumbents are on board, we may find that they are not merely role performers, they are persons. We may find to our chagrin that these role performers have brought with them the excess baggage of their personalities! We hired only a part but we got the whole individual, with his social status, his political connections, his habits, temper, and future objectives.

3. We may find that role performers, perform different tasks within the role, selectively, or invent a completely different role for themselves. They may do what they had been doing before in another organizational setting; may do what they know how to do, not what is required of them; may consider that their sitting at the desk is work, irrespective of whether it has anything to do with the objectives of the organization.

4. There may also occur genuine role conflict. It is impossible for a supervisor to be both a teacher and an administrator. Most people like to rule rather than promote growth in other individuals. When a person is expected to

play both of these roles, he neglects one to play the other.

5. While units and sections and task forces may be logically developed within an organization; unplanned, overlapping informal groups emerge at the same time. These emerge because some people have similar backgrounds, similar interests, share their fears and their sources of power. There is nothing inherently wrong about the emergence of informal groups within organizations. In good organizational climates, informal groups play a highly positive role. In organizations with bad organizational climates, however, informal groups can become rumor mills and increase the dysfunctionality of the organization.

What Can a Literacy Organizer Do?

Essentially, these are the possibilities:

1. The first thing to do here, again, is to develop understandings. A literacy organizer must understand the dynamics of role design, mutual role expectations, role performance and interactions between role incumbents.

2. A literacy organizer must be careful not to borrow ready-made roles from other literacy organizations, in other places. He must design roles for his organization afresh to suit his purposes. The roles designed by him must be appropriate to the conceptual structure of his literacy program. They must also be appropriate to the realities of the society in which those roles will be performed.

3. The literacy organizer must be careful about the recruitment of individuals in the organization. He must not sabotage his own plans by recruiting friends, relatives, students, or admirers when they are clearly unprepared for the jobs to be done. He must also handle his politics in a way that powerful politicians or bureaucrats do not take away all initiative from him and fill his organization with their men, and thus doom the organization to failure from the very beginning.

4. The literacy organizer should not let roles in the organization get frozen or locked in. He must consider them fluid. These roles should be frequently reanalyzed. Questions like these should be asked: Are these roles still valid in terms of tasks to be performed? Do any role conflicts exist? Is role performance satisfactory? Can the individuals assigned to particular roles actually perform those roles?

5. The preceding should lead to frequent role negotiations between role incumbents. Duties and expectations related to various roles may be changed and reintegrated as often as necessary.

6. Literacy organizers should emphasize interdependencies between roles. Role incumbents in upper levels of the hierarchy should not be permitted to insult or tyrannize over role incumbents at lower levels of the organization. Good leadership should be admired as much as good followership.

7. Literacy organizers must train role incumbents to be able to perform their roles effectively. Role incumbents must be enabled to experience success, thereby developing among them even greater personal needs to achieve.

Rule Making for Relating Organizational Roles

Roles must be related according to rules to create an organization. The sole purpose of making rules for an organization is to distribute power among various role incumbents. An organized power field must be created which can then perform societal work. Looked at in another way, an organization is a power field that can perform societal work. By rule making, individual wills of role incumbents are submerged in an organizational will. The organization cannot afford to leave role incumbents to themselves, to assert their power to develop a pecking order anew every day. Organizational designers distribute power within the organization formally. They ascribe authority to some role incumbents to make decisions on behalf of the organization. In other words, they establish formal chains of command.

The authority to make decisions is accompanied by the power to commit organizational resources. Again, the authority structure within an organization has a parallel communication structure. Different people have different communication rights and communication obligations. To put

muscle in this authority structure, higher level role incumbents can punish or reward those below them. The availability of rewards and punishments differs from organization to organization. Army has one set of rewards and punishments it can use. Businesses have another set. Organizations of literacy would have their own set of rewards and punishments. Some of these rewards will be monetary but more of them will be normative.

The basic organizational dilemma arises from the fact that ascribed authority and professional ability do not always go together in individuals. Those who have high authority within an organization do not necessarily have corresponding abilities. Conversely, those who are low in the hierarchy are not necessarily less competent. In today's world of specialization, the problem has acquired another aspect. In most organizations today the specialists suggest alternative decisions, but a generalist, in authority, has the veto over decisions. Again, specialists do the work but the generalist, in authority, rewards performance. That creates problems.

Some Logical Problems in Rule Making

There are some basic logical problems about rule making within organizations:

1. First of all is the problem of anticipation. All decision making situations cannot be anticipated so that these could be

made subject to rules. In pioneering enterprises, such as literacy and other developmental work, anticipating situations for rule making is very difficult indeed.

2. Too much rule making stymies those who are made subject to those rules. The impersonality and rigidity of rules goes against both motivation and spontaneity. Yet absence of rules and regulations creates confusion about courses of action for role incumbents within an organization.

3. Rules cannot always be made afresh. Organizations in fact borrow each other's code books. Unfortunately, quite often borrowing is not followed by adaptation to particular situations of different organizations.

4. While rules regarding command can be easily developed, rules regarding cooperation cannot be. No doubt, special coordination roles can be created within organizations and different units can be commanded to communicate with coordinators. But a unit could decide to communicate only when asked, and communicate only what is specifically required. No wonder feedback systems within organizations have to be often handled informally. They have to depend, not merely on rules, but also on goodwill.

5. Rules must be created in relation to criteria for performance and related rewards. In development organizations, however, new concepts of work have to be invented and performance cannot always be judged in terms of products or of impact.

Even those who work within literacy organizations think

that to work is to work on your desk, in yor office. They feel guilty about being away in the field, and about being present in their office only infrequently. On the other hand, some would carry things to the other extreme. They would suggest that "armchair thinking and desk planning" is a waste of time. That is certainly no so either. Desk work is necessary. But office work is not all of the work of a literacy worker.

As has been suggested above, a literacy worker's performance cannot always be judged in terms of products and impact. Development is a complex process. Motivations within communities cannot always be created by individual literacy workers. The door to learning and growth opens from the inside. The literacy worker can only knock at it. Literacy workers should, therefore, be judged in terms of their commitment to work and in terms of the application of processes. If a literacy worker did all that was necessary andyet no literacy class materialized, you do not necessarily have a bad literacy worker on hand.

6. Finally, rules must create career lines for its workers. Within non-governmental agencies the task is comparatively easy. However, within governmental settings where officials become subject to civil service regulations problems would be many.

Sociological Complexities of Rule Making

In rule making, as indeed in most human life, the logical gets confounded with the sociological. Here are some of the sociological problems about rule making:

1. The first problem arises from tensions introduced into the authority structure. Role incumbents bring their "personalities" with them as they join organizations. They also bring with them their social statuses, their relationships with powerful people and outside groups, and thereby their influence and power. Also some of the role incumbents are very able and competent and develop individual power incommensurate with their official positions. This informal power structure that is not congruent with the authority structure constructed by rules generates tensions within the system. It leads to what has been called bureaupathology and bureausis defined[1] as follows:

Bureaupathology. When a role incumbent in high authority feels that he is really not as competent as some of his subordinates, he or she tries to hide personal insecurities by excessive assertion of authority and status. Such dysfunctional behavior is called bureaupathology.

Bureausis. This is a word that describes the inability of some people to cope with organizations, and their childish tendency to find the rationalism, orderliness, impartiality and impersonality of bureaucracies completely intolerable.

---

[1]By Victor A. Thompson, Modern Organization. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

2. In our discussion of roles we pointed out how individual incumbents redefine roles to suit their personal inclinations and capacities. This process throws rule making in disarray. New informal rules develop to support, extend and substitute for formal rules. These informal rules are so important that the organization can come to a stand still if role incumbents begin to work according to the formal rules.

3. Rule making creates divisions of labor, and organizational mechanisms, such as units, sections, departments and divisions. These mechanisms, however, come to have a life of their own, so much so that they begin to consider coordination with other units an unnecessary nuisance. Information is guarded from those for whom it was created in the first place. Here, again, the informal communication system helps.

4. New informal reward systems also emerge. Not only monetary but status rewards are given. Psychological contracts develop and are honored. These psychological contracts have complex structures relating to individual's needs for security, autonomy, achievement, sense of power and self-actualization.

What Can a Literacy Organizer Do?

What can a literacy organizer do about rule making? Some of the remedies are implicit in our discussion above. Others can be suggested:

1. A literacy organizer may be well advised not to create too many hierarchies within the organization.

2. Rules may be designed so as to allow the creation of temporary systems within the organization such as task forces, work teams and project teams. This would require perhaps that roles are named generically, e.g., as Program Specialists rather than Evaluation Specialist, Training Specialist, Field Work Specialists, Extension Specialist, etc. One can have generic role designations and yet develop specializations by naming specialists as Program Specialist (E), Program Specialist (T), Program Specialist (F), etc. But generic labelling would make redefinition of roles and role negatiations possible when necessary.

3. The literacy organizers, again, must not treat rules, once made, as sacred and good for all times. Rules should be considered as fluid and changeable. He should review them for their functionality every now and then.

4. A literacy organizer must frequently take special actions to energize, the informal communication networks within the organization. This can be done by employing special Organization Development techniques for creating systematic feedback mechanisms within organizations.

5. Rules must provide for the promotion of organizational intelligence. A literacy organizer should not overload the system with reports and forms. However, an organization should not be an oral enterprise without a memory. While work proceeds, role performers must generate valid data and this data must be kept in a form which it can be readily

used by every one in the organization for informed decision making. Rules must, that is, require systematic creation and use of valid information within the organization.

6. A literacy organizer may, usefully, separate the processes of solution invention and implementation of decisions. He should separate these two processes not only in his own mind but must enable his colleagues to understand the separation as well. During the process of solution invention all possible participation should be encouraged. Points of view, information, and personal opinions must be requested. Once the decision is made the implementation process should begin. At the implementation stage compliance should be ensured, unless a formal review of the decision becomes necessary.

7. Finally, the literacy organizer should use rewards of status and shared credit for all workers within the organization.

Resources for Action

Organizations cannot exist without resources. They must use resources to create other resources and services. Organizations may be seen typically to need six different types of resources:

1. Cognitive/Informational Resources
2. Attitudinal/Goodwill Resources
3. Material Resources
4. Personnel Resources
5. Institutional Resources, and

6. Time Resources

Creation and Management of Resources

Literacy organizers are habituated to their poverty. Most often they have low budgetary aspirations. They do not ask for much, and they get even less.

Organizers and administrators of all kinds are often unaware of any lack of conceptual resources within their own organizations. They seem to say--"If we did not know our job, why would we be here?" Sometimes they may know of organizational lacunas but may try to build all conceptual resources within the organization. Conceptual resources available outside the organization through short-term consultants may be completely neglected. Budget procedures may not even permit consultant use. On the other hand, some organizations may have over-abundance of consultant help. Once a certain number of man-months of consultancy has been budgeted, there may be compulsions for squandering those resources. Goodwill is seldom looked at as a resource by literacy organizers and they may often learn, to their dismay, that personnel are not always available even when they have money to pay them.

Literacy organizations often may have no institutional support and may find it necessary to build their own infrastructures. At other times, however, they may try to build their own parallel infrastructures and not use what

is already available merely for the asking. Finally, time may be badly handled for want of systematic approaches to planning and knowledge of techniques such as PERT.

The Human Element in Resource Use

The human element in resource availability and use plays fantastic tricks on planners, and administrators. Too much of material resources can produce a goldrush. Every one may want to have a part of the money that is around. In economies of scarcities, organizational equipment and properties may be misused for personal advantage. Official cars, radios, tape recorders may be put to private rather than official use. Interestingly enough, there may be something called the "nationality of money." Money may be differently spent depending upon the sources from which it comes. American money may be different from Tanzanian money. Now probably Iranian money and Saudi Arabian money may each acquire its own particular nationality and invite special responses from those who spend it.

Finally, organizers in control within organizations seldom try to hire subordinates smarter than themselves. And in developing societies, some seem to think as if there is room only for one reputation in the whole country. They do not realize that there is lot that remains to be done in this world and that there is room for a million initiatives, and reputations in this world.

What Can a Literacy Organizer Do?

Once again, the question must be asked. What can a literacy worker do about the management of resources? Literacy organizers, minimally, must develop a sharpened awareness about the human aspects of resources and must learn to manage them well. They should be careful neither to abuse, themselves, nor allow the abuse of organizational resources, by others.

Institution Building Aspects of Literacy Organization

As we have suggested before, the processes of organization and mobilization for literary work can be analyzed in two parts: (1) organizational design and (2) institution building. Further, that the organizational design, in turn, can be seen to consist in the design of two subsystems within the organization: (i) the technical system and (ii) the social system. We also indicated that the process of design of the technical system of an organization must necessarily respond to the typical characteristics of the social architecture of organizations within a society. The total organizational design process in turn, as it proceeds, must include considerations for institution building if the organization has to have the chance of survival in the society it seeks to serve.

We have, elsewhere, described the process of institution building as an organizational launch into social space. The analogy is a good one. Institution building, indeed, is a process whereby a new organization is launched into the society to become, on the one hand, a part of the partial network of related institutions; and, on the other, begins to serve a group of clients (which may include individuals, groups, institutions and special publics).

The requirement for the institutionalization of a new organization may be stated as follows:

1. The organization does not require repeated mandates from the power elite for its continuation within the society. On the other hand, its termination does involve a special policy initiative and a formal mandate from the power elite.
2. Resources needed for an organization's continuation become a long-term public charge. In the case of a voluntary organization this condition may be fulfilled through an endowment of funds. In case of organizations where a large part or all of program funding must be collected from different sources every year, the funding for the basic personnel, facilities and equipment needs should have become a long-term public charge.
3. The values and the norms of the new organization should have become an "ideal" for at least similar or related institutions within the society. It is not necessary that these institutions should have actually incorporated these values and norms.

4. The society which the organization serves should be able to supply the personnel and skill resources needed for the organization to function. In the language of economics, the organization should have obtained total or almost total input substitution for personnel and technology employed by the organization. The organization, that is, should have become anchored in the society.

5. The organization should not still be in the process of "fashioning" client needs. The new services being provided by the organization should have become "felt" needs for clients of those services.

In the following we will discuss how systems of action for literacy work should become institutionalized.

Literary work is too often done by organizing campaigns. A voluntary organization or a government department, every six months or a year, gathers steam to go into the villages, gets the local leadership together, hangs banners and buntings, pastes posters on the walls, shames illiterate adults into becoming learners and the village primary school teacher, the revenue clerk or the local cooperative secretary, and sometimes the middle school children into volunteering to be literary teachers. Some instructional materials are supplied. Once the classes have been "opened" the campaigners leave. Soon, thereafter, adults drift away, teachers lose commitment. The classes close down.

Campaigns have a place in tieracy work -- to create consciousness, to generate enthusiasm and movement. But literacy work cannot be done by campaigns alone. A system of action is needed to sustain enthusiasm once it has been generated. Teachers must be trained and continuously helped on the job, they must be supervised, given social rewards if not gifts of money. Learners must be helped to see what they could do with their literacy skills once they have acquired those skills.

Literacy and Social Policy

It is imperative that adult illiterates who join literacy classes should be offered more than mere mystification of literacy. The right to read means little without the right to rebel against the prevailing socioeconomic order of hopelessness for adults being invited to literacy classes. The point is that a literacy policy should be congruent with and supported by a socioeconomic and political policy which offers adults genuine participation in the social and political life of the community and the country. The adult learners should be able to look forward to improved economic well being, better social status and greater political effectiveness. And literacy should be seen as playing a role in this new integration.

The Life of Systems of Action for Literacy

Accepting that literacy work can not be well done through campaigns and that systems of action (organizations and organizational networks) need to be created, a question can be asked: Why should these organizations and organizational networks be institutionalized? Why should organizations for literacy be perpetuated? If primary schools do their job well, and if literacy organizations work effectively,would not the latter soon put themselves out of business? Does not a successful organization for literacy make itself redundant? Why then institutionalize literacy organizations? Why not treat them as temporary or at best semi-permanent systems?

The question is a reasonable one. But there are lots of ifs and buts involved. Literacy in most countries of the Third World would remain for long an unfinished business. Wastage and stagnation in primary education is high and schools for years to come will continue producing more illiterates than literates. The absolute numbers of illiterates have indeed increased in most developing countries even if percentages of illiteracy have dropped. In most places in the developing world, again, literacy work with women--the greater half of humankind--has barely started. Thus perpetuation of literacy work through institutionalization of organizations of literacy should not create any institutional debris for a long time in the future. But more to the point, organizations for literacy

can develop into adult education and community development organizations without serious crises of organizational identity. In today's world of engineering and social technologies, learning societies have become unavoidable. A literacy organizer's work will thus never get done!

Institution Building:
A Conceptualization

An organization is a system. Units, divisions, sections and departments that are part of an organization are its subsystems. On the other hand, such an organization is itself a subsystem of a larger system of a network of developmental organizations, and, ultimately, of the total society. We need not stop with the nation state. The universe we live in is the ultimate system.

The process of organizational design was defined earlier as an instance of systems design. The process of institution building was also defined as a process of systems design. The difference now is that in the latter case we are dealing with the larger system into which the organization has been launched (and of which the organization is seeking to become a subsystem).

The same set of concepts that were used to discuss organizational design will be used to discuss institution-building. (See the chart on page 4.)

Our discussion of institutionality should have suggested that the basic task of institution building consists in (a) enabling the newly launched organization to find adjustments with and support from the existing configuration of institutions and relevant publics, (b) developing linkages, both formal and informal, with actors in relevant configurations, (c) coping with the environment according to whether the environment is supportive, inhibitive or neutral, and (d) obtaining and utilizing resources.

Adjustments with Institutions and Client Groups in the Environment

Organizations, as social systems, need power to survive and be able to serve their clients. Literacy organizers can build power for their organizations in various ways: (i) by borrowing power from the already established institutions through the process of legitimization; and (ii) by building mutual interdependencies with other existing institutions and the target groups of clients.

The very fact that an organization like the WOI comes into being means the policy making elite and the existing institutional structure did provide normative support, enabled the organization to come into being and to function. At the institution building stage, one of the things to do is to be ensured of the continuation of normative support for the organization. In other words, the organizers must look for legitimization of their organizations by existing

institutions. This is a transaction where the literacy organizers cannot offer much in return. They will have to refer to national ideologies, aspirations and commitments and regularly obtain verbal statements on the goodness of literacy work. Once such statements have been obtained, these should not merely be displayed on the wall of the chief organizer's office. Such testimonials must be disseminated as widely as possible among the instrumental elite and among the public.

To build interdependencies with existing elements of the total configuration is another important step in institution building. Literacy organizers should take a census of institutions, of more or less organized groups a nd of elite individuals who might be of help or who might already be feeling competitive or threatened. Those who feel competitive must be given their own spheres of works. They should, that is, be integrated into coalitions. If an organization already exists which is doing literacy work in urban slums or among prisoners in a prison setting, the new literacy organization should not try to encroach upon their work. Offers for training, for supervision support, for instructional materials should be made to such organizations with the utmost discretion to avoid being accused of empire building. The intention should never be to conquer but to collaborate. Those institutions, groups and individuals who can help should be approached and help

should be requested. Credit for work should be shared both with competitors and collaborators.

Developing interdependencies between the literacy organization and the clients of literacy -- the adult learners -- is the most important and also the most complex process. In the literature of literacy (and adult education and community developing in general) we talk of the felt needs of people. Literacy workers have successfully self-hyponitized themselves. Some have really come to believe in literacy being a felt need by illiterate adults. This is generally not so. Literacy organizers must first fashion needs for literacy, and then fulfill those needs once they have been fashioned, and become somewhat felt. Fashioning literacy needs among client groups should thus be seen as a very important part of institutionalizing an organization for literacy.

Problems of Linkages

To build coalitions with existing institutions requires getting in touch with them. Linkages are necessary for any adjustments to take place with organizations, groups, and communities. Linkages are of two kinds: formal and informal.

A Typical Formal Linkage Mechanism:
The Coordination Committee

Verticle formal linkages between superordinate and subordinate organizations are not too difficult to establish and maintain. At least the downward flow of communications is often satisfactory. Unfortunately, the upward flow of communications in formal linkage systems is not always functioning.

On the other hand, the establishment of horizontal formal linkages between different associations and organizations is problematic. Once a network of horizontal linkages has been created, it is difficult to maintain. The most typical strategy used to create a formal horizontal linkage system is through the creation of a coordination committee. Sometimes such committees may be given names like the advisory committee or the steering committee. Typically each department, office and association concerned with some aspect of the project names an official to serve on such committees. Such committees are a flexible mechanism since all kinds of interests, governmental and nongovernmental, church-related and secular can be represented on such committees and brought together to work. Making functional use of coordination committees, however, requires considerable follow up work on committee recommendations and decisions. If decisions made in those committees are later not communicated to <u>all</u> concerned both within the bureaus and

in the field, the coordination committee members may end up being blocks to communication rather than being of help.

Informal Linkages

Informal linkages are, again, important at the institution building stage as they are at the organizational design stage. Literacy organizers will have to develop informal linkages not only with other officials within other organizations but also they would have to develop informal linkages with community leaders and powerful individuals. Informal linkages would take place within established social structures of a society -- children's playgrounds, buses or commuter trains, office canteens, neighborhood chess teams, village wells, community centers, churches and mosques, etc. When none of these channels are available, the literacy organizer can create linkages by inviting people to informal get togethers or by dropping in on the individual with whom contact must be made.

It is not possible, within the scope of this monograph, to include any detailed discussion of interpersonal behavior. It must be stated, however, that:

(i) Authentic, honest relationships ultimately work out better than manipulative ones. Do not try to use people for your purposes. Do not let them keep guessing. Let them know how important their help is to you.

(ii) One should not get locked into one's role and status. Too often people are much self-conscious about their roles and the statuses attached to those roles. This is especially so about people working within governmental settings. On the one hand, literacy organizers in a governmental setting may themselves feel inferior while relating with public functionaries with executive and judicial powers. On the other hand, they may feel superior to the community leadership in villages and in the bush. Often, without their knowing, literacy organizers may develop superior airs in dealing with the poor and illiterate adults in villages or in the campo. They may deal patronizingly with adult learners, their leaders and their own teachers.

The relationship of male literacy organizers with women teachers and supervisors, and with women learners in adult classes is especially problematic: women organizers may not be given positions of real responsibility. They may be given desk jobs when they should be in the field. In mixed classes of men and women, as in Tanzania, women learners may sit in the last row and teachers may seldom teach to them.

Linkage Management

Linkages are not good under all circumstances. One cannot, therefore, always be building linkages. Linkage management requires that needed linkages be built but that unneeded linkages be severed. Unneeded linkages create noise. For instance, a literacy organizer can not allow everyone in the organization to give press conferences. And if the environment because of some special circumstances becomes temporarily hostile, the organization and organizers need to isolate themselves and let linkages go dormant. There is a body of literature developing around the topic of Development Communication. This literature should be of interest to the literacy organizer interested in mobilization for literacy work.

Resources and Institutionality

We have discussed resources in an earlier part of the monograph as part of organizational design problems. Continued availability of resources is an essential condition for organizational survival and its ultimate institutionality. The resources can come from national institutional networks and from client groups.

Material resources become more or less continuous if they become part of the state budget. Literacy organizers might, therefore, work towards getting on the public budget list. Where the total budget cannot come from state sources,

literacy organizers may work towards getting commitments to a core budget--something that will support a minimum of the program and of administrative staff, and facilities. Even where funds are collected from client groups, as private support, the target should be to establish long-term endowments. In economies of scarcities it is not always realistic to expect local support for programs of literacy, and extension. A literacy organizer need not feel guilty about not being able to collect local funding from poor farmers and housewives -- the rural poor he or she has come to help.

Private funding from individuals and trusts can sometimes come tied to particular program activities. Those who make charitable donations have their own ideas on what is better charity. People sometimes feel better about supporting the digging of a well, and of planting of trees than they do about buying bicycles for the village level workers or typewriters for an office. Funding tied to particular activities may sometimes derail an organization's program and may decrease the chances of an organization becoming an institution.

The society that the organization serves or the organization itself must begin to provide the needed personnel for organizational task if institutionalization has to come about. Literacy organizers must train their personnel, consciously and systematically, for them to take positions of responsibility as the program expands. More

importantly, the literacy organizers must work with teachers training colleges and university departments of education to get them interested in training the needed personnel and in providing the research and development support needed for implementing a national literacy program. The literacy organizations to become institutionlized must be able to use the resources and capacities of institutions that form part of the total institutional network within a society. They should be able to get continuous support from the media not merely to celebrate special days but also to disseminate information on a continuous basis. They should be able to use the postal services to issue special stamps and markers to promote literacy. They should be able to get legislation to make a "literacy increment" mandatory for workers in factories, mines, and the army. The Iranian Sipah-i-Danish is an excellent example of use of institutional resources of the society for literacy work.

Some of the institutional resources from within the society that we have suggested for the literacy organizer to manage for institutionalization will be cognitive (or informational) and of influence and good will. Indeed when societal goodwill becomes available the organizational tasks will have become valued. Societies sometimes seem to have all the time, on other occasions they seem to be in too much hurry. They talk of crash programs. They are unreasonable

and want social transformations of cultures within months and weeks. As part of institution-building a literacy organizer must develop proper perspectives on time both for short term projects, and ofr his ultimate mission. He must project both his short-term goals of making some communities literate as well as his long term goal of working toward a learning society.

As we have suggested before environments can be supportive, neutral or inhibitive. The environment for the institutionalization of literacy work has to be supportive of the objectives and the ultimate mission of literacy organization. Environments are supportive of such activities when there is an environment of hope in societies. When societies have a feeling that the achievement of society's aspirations is possible and within its means.

Literacy organizers can not play God. They cannot always manage all the institutions within a society. They cannot order coalitions and collaborations. They cannot always manage all the linkages in the way they want. They cannot rebuild the environment, order hope for all the people. All they can do is to be aware of these factors and of the possibilities that each of this promises. Institution building is an area of probabilities. By doing wha we have suggested a literacy organizer can increase the

probabilities of his organization becoming institutionalized. At times he may do his best and yet his organization may languish, more dead than alive. On other occasions, the organization may thrive when he did nothing to deserve the good luck. Circumstances are sometimes stronger than men are, but men must try -- with understandings.